THEORY IN ANTHOROUGH

The Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association

Revue de l'Association Canadienne de Linguistique

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* * *

¶ The Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association is the official publication of the Association. Annual dues of two dollars, which include subscription to the Journal, are payable to Prof. H. R. Wilson, Royal Military College, Kingston, Ont. Available back issues may also be ordered from the Treasurer.

Manuscripts in English or French may be sent to the Editor, Prof. J. W. Wevers, Dept. of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Can. A Style Sheet should be secured from the Editor before the final manuscript is typed. Books for review should be sent to Prof. D. F. Theall, St. Michael's College, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto 5, Can.

¶ La Revue de l'Association Canadienne de Linguistique est l'organe officiel de l'Association. La cotisation, abonnement compris, est de deux dollars par année, payable au trésorier, H. R. Wilson, Royal Military College. Kingston, Ont. On peut se procurer des numéros déjà parus en écrivant au trésorier.

Les manuscrits en français ou en anglais doivent être envoyés à l'éditeuradjoint, Mme Irène Vachon-Spilka, Université de Montréal, P. Q. Se procurer une copie du protocole avant de taper la version définitive du manuscrit. Adresser les livres au rédacteur des recensions, M. Maurice Rabotin, Université McGill, Montréal, P. Q.

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PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

SUMMER STUDY IN LINGUISTICS, 1961

Two programs in linguistic studies will be offered in Canada during the summer of 1961. The University of Alberta will conduct its fourth consecutive SUMMER SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS, July 3 — August 11, and the University of Montreal its tenth Cours d'été en linguistique, July 2 — August 15. Both programs are jointly sponsored by Canadian Linguistic Association and the host universities. All courses carry university credit.

The following courses, subject to change or substitution, will be offered:

Summer School of Linguistics

General Linguistics
General Phonetics
Contrastive Linguistics
(English and French)
Eskimo Language and Culture
Linguistic Geography and
Lexicography
History of the English
Language
Modern English Grammar
Teaching English as a Second
Language

Culture and Language

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Cours d'été en Linguistique‡

- -Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais
- -Linguistique générale (Ecole saussurienne)
- -Sémantique du français moderne
- —Problèmes de linguistique canadienne-française
- —Phonétique expérimentale
- (‡ Cours au niveau du M. A.)

Prospective Canadian participants are eligible to apply for financial assistance to the Canada Council, 140 Wellington Street, Ottawa. United States citizens and other non-Canadians should direct their inquiries regarding financial assistance to the American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. In addition, a limited number of small grants, some especially earmarked for particular courses, will be made available by the Canadian Linguistic Association. Inquiries should be addressed to Dr. M. H. Scargill, Chairman, Committee on Awards and Grants, Canadian Linguistic Association, University of Alberta in Calgary, Calgary, Alberta. Because of early final dates for applications, students are advised to request additional information and forms as soon as possible.

A bulletin giving full details about both programs will be available soon. In the meantime, all inquiries concerning the Summer School of Linguistics should be directed to Dr. E. Reinhold, Director, Summer School of Linguistics, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta. Inquiries concerning the Cours d'Eté en linguistique, should be addressed to M. Jean Houpert, directeur, Cours de vacances de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Montréal, P. Q.

CHARLES J. LOVELL + March 17, 1960

Mr. Charles J. Lovell of Willow Springs, Illinois, was a most valued member of our Association. Although a slight deafness may have caused him to appear rather withdrawn, those of his colleagues in the Association who got to know him well found him to be a very humorous and kindly man.

Mr. Lovell was largely self-educated, and all his life he had an amazing interest in lexicography. In 1946 he joined the staff of the **Dictionary of Americanisms** as research and editorial assistant, taking with him, in the words of Mitford M. Mathews, "a veritable avalanche" of material "including thousands of antedatings of the **Dictionary of American English"**.

But Mr. Lovell's greatest affection was for Canada and Canadian English. Once a licensed guide in Banff National Park, Mr. Lovell developed an abiding interest in all things Canadian. At his death, he was preparing to leave Illinois to work in Canada for a year, collecting for the Association's projected Dictionary of Canadian English on Historical Principles with the aid of a generous Fellowship from Canada Council. He was also engaged in editing his own monumental Dictionary of Canadianisms, a work which was to have been published within a year or two.

From our own knowledge of Mr. Lovell and of his work, we judge him to be the man whose name must always come first among those who have contributed to the lexicography of Canadian English. His work in the field of the lexicography of American English is there for all to read.

In Mr. Lovell's death, the Association has lost an outstanding colleague and a good friend.

AWARDS AND GRANTS COMMITTEE

At its Annual Meeting in June, 1960, the Association established a new committee called the Awards and Grants Committee.

Certain members of the Association quite properly seek the Association's support in acquiring financial aid from various bodies for research projects, for the opportunity to represent the Association at conferences, etc. The Association also sponsors several joint research projects, for which funds will doubtless be sought from various agencies such as Canada Council. In order that the Association might have one central body that could know just what projects, individual or joint, require the Association's support, the Awards and Grants Committee was formed to act as clearing house.

If you wish the support of the Association for any linguistic research, please write to the Chairman of the Committee, giving a detailed statement of your project, its present state, the time when you expect it to be completed, the amount of money previously awarded, the amount now requested, and full information as to where and when the Association's supporting letter should go. The committee will then evaluate your project and decide whether or not it merits the Association's support.

This notice should not be construed as an attempt to restrict any member's freedom to apply individually for funds to any source for whatever purpose he needs them. Nor does this notice suggest that the Association's support guarantees an award from any source.

Applications for support should be sent to: Prof. M. H. Scargill, English Department, University of Alberta in Calgary, Calgary, Alberta.

Notice

Les membres de l'Association qui désirent présenter une communication au Congrès de juin 1961 à Montréal sont priés d'adresser le plus tôt possible leur sujet à Maurice Rabotin, Département des Langues Romanes, Université McGill, Montréal 2, (Qué.) pour l'élaboration du programme.

Members who wish to present papers to the Annual Meeting of the Association at Montreal in June, 1961, are urged to send the titles of their papers as soon as possible to Mr. Maurice Rabotin, Department of Romance Languages, McGill University, Montreal 2, P. Q., in order that programme arrangements may be made.

THE CANADIAN LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

Report on the Annual Meeting, 1960

Registration for the three-day meeting (June 11-13) was approximately 75 and attendance at the several sessions varied between 30 and 60 members. All of the papers on the program published in JCLA, 6.1 (Spring, 1960), 94-5, were presented with the exception of those promised by S. Losic and J. Hare, both of whom were prevented at the last moment from attending.

The business meeting was opened with a brief statement by the President and Chairman, J. B. Rudnyckyj, followed by the reports of the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Chairman of the following committees: Grammar, Dictionary, Constitution, Finance, Membership, Nominations; moreover, reports were tabled by the Editor of the Journal, by the Co-ordinator for Linguistic Geography, and by the Director of the University of Alberta's Summer School of Linguistics.

The greater part of the two business meetings was concerned with three matters: the ratification of the recommendations of the Nominating Committee and the establishing of new committees; the consideration of the proposed Constitution; the question of finances.

The following slate of officers was approved by vote:

Officers 1960-62

- President: E. R. Seary (Memorial)
- Past President: J. B. Rudnyckyj (Manitoba)
- Vice-President: J.-P. Vinay (Montreal)
- Secretary: W. S. Avis (Royal Military College)
- Treasurer: H. R. Wilson (Royal Military College) Editor of the *Journal*: J. W. Wevers (Toronto)
- Council: D. F. Theall (Toronto) and Abbé R. Charbonneau (Montreal)
- Committees (Chairmen in italics. In some cases chairmen only were appointed, with the power to co-opt members as required; the President and Secretary are ex officio members of all committees)
- Finance: H. R. Wilson, J. W. Wevers, E. Reinhold (Alberta)
- Nominating: J.-P. Vinay, W. F. Mackey (Laval), G. St. Pierre (Collège Militaire Royal)
- Programme and Arrangements: M. Rabotin (McGill), A. Rigault (McGill), Abbé R. Charbonneau

Journal: J. W. Wevers, Mme Vachon-Spilka (Montreal), G. Bursill-Hall (British Columbia), P. D. Drysdale, C. D. Ellis (Toronto), W. F. Mackey, M. Rabotin (Montreal), E. Reinhold (Edmonton), D. F. Theall, J.-P. Vinay.

Linguistic Summer Schools: E. Reinhold, J.-P. Vinay, M. H. Scargill (Alberta at Calgary), G. Lefèbvre (Montreal)

Membership: H. R. Wilson, G. L. Tracy (Victoria), D. F. Theall, G. Plastre (Royal Military College)

Grants and Awards: M. H. Scargill

Constitution: E. R. Seary

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Grammar Studies (English): D. F. Theall
Grammar Studies (French): J.-P. Vinay
Dictionary (English): M. H. Scargill
Dictionary (French) G. Dulong (Laval)
Dictionary (Ukrainian): J. B. Rudnyckyj

A considerable amount of time was spent in considering the draft of the Constitution, brought forward by Prof. Seary. After a number of changes had been moved and seconded, it became apparent that there would not be time to go through the entire document. Consequently, it was moved by D. F. Theall and seconded by I. Pigeon (Collège Militaire Royal)) "that the constitution be accepted in its present form, including all amendments so far adopted, as an operating draft to be revised by the Constitution Committee for presentation to the meeting in 1961. When the revised daft is prepared, it will be circulated so that members may submit any further amendments in writing, these to be in the hands of the Secretary at least three months prior to the meeting scheduled for June 1961, when the final draft will be presented to the membership for adoption."

In view of the increasing obligations of the Association both with regard to improving the Journal and offering financial aid to students attending the Summer Schools of Linguistics of which the Association is co-sponsor, there was a strong feeling that the price of membership ought to be increased. It was moved by G. Dulong and seconded by J. W. Wevers that the membership dues be raised to \$4.00 per year. effective June 1, 1961, it being understood that members paid up in advance beyond this date will not be liable to the new rate until their advance payments are used up. Carried. It was further moved by H. R. Wilson and seconded by R. I. McDavid, Jr. (Chicago) that the price of back issues be raised to \$2.00, effective June 1, 1961. Carried. Notice of motion was served by W. S. Avis to the effect that the price of such back issues should be no more than \$1.50, this motion to be presented at the 1961 meeting.

At the request of the Secretary, it was moved by A. Lauzière (Royal Military College) and seconded by G. des Marchais (Mount Allison) that the payment of \$450.00 in grants to three Summer School students be approved. Carried.

Prof. Vinay advised the meeting that the Université de Montréal was to hold a Summer School of Linguistics in the summer of 1961 and asked for the sponsorship of the Canadian Linguistic Association for this school; it was pointed out that such sponsorship had been granted for the school held at Montreal in 1956, the first such summer school to be held in Canada. Prof. Vinay moved, seconded by Mme Vachon-Spilka, that the Association extend its approval of the proposed school and undertake to act as co-sponsor. Carried.

Because two Summer Schools, one at Alberta and one at Montreal, were to be held in 1961, the opinion was expressed that the ceiling of \$500.00 set aside for assisting candidates for the summer schools would be inadequate for next year. It was moved by E. Reinhold, seconded by J.-P. Vinay, that the amount set aside for grants-in-aid for summer school students not exceed \$800.00 for the summer of 1961. As in past years, the current financial position of the Association will determine the amount actually used for this purpose. Carried.

The following motions were made and carried:

A vote of thanks to the retiring President, Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj (Mackey).

A vote of thanks to the retiring Editor of the Journal, Prof. J.-P. Vinay (Wevers).

A vote of thanks to Mr. Arnold Rockman of Longmans Green for his much appreciated advice to the Special Committee of the Journal with regard to design and format (Wevers).

A vote of thanks to Queen's University for their gracious welcome of the Association to the Conference of Learned Societies. The Secretary was instructed to write a letter of thanks to Principal MacKintosh on behalf of the Association (Seary).

A summary of the report of the Special Committee of the Journal was presented by W. F. Mackey in the absence of the Chairman, R. H. Robinson (Toronto). The adoption of this report was moved by Prof. Mackey and seconded by H. R. Wilson. Carried.

The meeting closed with a motion by J. W. Wevers, seconded by G. Bursill-Hall, asking the membership to homologate the activities of the executive during the year 1959-60. Carried.

W. S. Avis, Secretary.

Secretary's Report, 1959-60

The Association continues to move ahead, increasing in stature and perhaps even a little in wisdom. Several of our committees have had an active year, notably that concerned with the establishing of a formal constitution and that concerned with revamping the *Journal*. I might here call attention to the programming of two business sessions for the June 1960 meeting, a step taken because we seriously doubted that all the matter to be discussed could be dealt with satisfactorily in one.

The dictionary committee has been active in advancing the Dictionary of Canadian English: indeed, in the middle of the year, the editor, Charles Lovell, received a grant of \$8,000.00 from the Canada Council. Unhappily, just after receiving this award, Mr. Lovell suffered a fatal heart attack, being thus bilked of the long-awaited opportunity to bring his life's work to fruition. Needless to say, the Committee and the CLA have been seriously crippled by this development.

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It is a pleasure to report that our Summer School project is doing well. A third is about ready to begin at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. Furthermore, another will be held at Edmonton next year and plans are well under way for holding a second summer school at the University of Montreal in the summer of 1961.

The financial position of the Association will be bared in a separate report to be made by the Treasurer. I would, however, like to say that we have pressed ahead with our plan to aid students wishing to pursue linguistic studies, granting \$400.00 to three students who attended the Edmonton school last summer and \$450.00 to four others this summer.

Membership has been increasing at a pleasing rate, at least on the surface; in fact, our present strength is promising, especially since we now carry members in good standing until they are twelve months in arrears.

As of May 31, 1959, our total membership was 380: 90 institutions and 288 private members. During the current year 42 memberships have lapsed, that is, have not been maintained after May 1958. On the other hand, 144 new members have joined: 25 institutions and 119 private members. Our present membership, therefore, stands at 482; 114 institutions and 368 private members, figures which include 10 complimentary subscribers.

The gratifying increase in membership is rather misleading, alas, for as of May 31, there were no fewer than 98 private members in arrears for 1959-60. This situation points up one of our major problems: that of getting in dues. Although notices of arrears are sent out with each issue, response is often disappointing. When the roll was smaller, personal letters to delinquents were often more successful, but time does not permit such luxuries at present. The Secretary and the Treasurer will certainly welcome suggestions for improving this unhappy situation.

W. S. Avis, Secretary.

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Treasurer's Report

The financial statement which follows is, by accident, a rather misleading document. Two large items which should have been handled in the 1958-59 fiscal year could not be until the 1960-61 year had begun. For administrative reasons the travel grants were not disbursed until after June 1, and the bill for JCLA 6.1 was not received until July. Together these items totalled \$1,275 and members should make appropriate adjustments in their thinking before giving way to complacency.

Comparison with previous years will reveal a steady drain upon our resources which more than justifies a raise in membership fees. It is true that the Association has other assets, chiefly in the form of back copies of the Journal, totalling over \$1,000, but these are of no real value unless sold. Some private members do buy back files, but the chief sale is to institutions. Academic members who encourage their universities to place the Journal in their libraries do a real service to the Association.

Bank Balance 4 June 1959		\$1,503.00
Receipts:		
Memberships and Journal sales.	\$1,043.44	
Travel Grant	500.00	
Contribution Memorial U	100.00	
Advertising (Gage)	200.00	
Offprints	26.53	
Interest	19.71	
Total receipts	\$1.889.68	
Disbursements:		
Outstanding checks 1958-59	\$ 156.65	

Printing

1.005.83

Stationery, duplicating, etc. 24.15 Bank charges 43.14 Postage and express 38.71	
Summer school grants 400.00 Miscellaneous 36.90	
Total disbursements . \$1,705.38	
Balance on year's operations	\$ 184.30
New balance	\$1,687.30
(Bank Balance May 24, 1960 (Cash	\$1,616.81) \$ 70.49)

H. R. Wilson, Treasurer.

Dialect Committee

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No actual dialect field work was done between the 1959 and 1960 meetings of the Canadian Linguistic Association. In general, this could be described as a year of discussions and exchange of information. Hopes for a training course for field workers in the summer of 1960 were disappointed when the Canada Council changed its policy on grants for such projects.

Dialect work in Canada was assisted by the Canada Council in a number of other ways. The Council paid the expenses of the Chairman of the Dialect Committee on a trip to the Maritime Provinces in October, 1959, to explore the possibility of establishing a training course for field workers in connection with one of the summer schools in the area. A lively interest was found at the University of New Brunswick where, despite the collapse of this year's hopes, plans are being made for the summer of 1961.

On this trip, the Chairman addressed the Fredericton Branch of the Humanities Association of Canada on "Linguistic Geography and the National Culture." He also spoke to undergraduate groups at Acadia and Mount Allison universities.

The Canada Council was also of assistance in bringing Angus McIntosh of the University of Edinburgh to Kingston when he was in New England giving a series of guest lectures in April. Dr. McIntosh's visit included informal discussions of methodology with the Chairman, Dr. Walter S. Avis, Secretary of the Society, and Prof. Christopher Dean of the Queen's University.

Following the annual meeting of the Association in Kingston, the Chairman went to the Maritimes again to survey the resources in settlement history available at the University of New Brunswick, the New Brunswick Museum, Acadia University and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The tentative outline of a survey in south-west New Brunswick was made in collaboration with Dr. Murray Kinloch and one record was started in Fredericton.

The Chairman was able to get into the field in August to complete the field work in Annapolis and Yarmouth counties. The latter part of the visit was spent in Wolfville outlining an intensive survey of King's county to be carried out by Prof. Murray Wanamaker of Acadia University.

Both these trips were made possible by a short-term grant from the Canada Council.

Although details of planning and organization continue to divert attention from field work, four records were completed this year and three more started. Twenty-five others were projected and with the completion of seven of these it should be possible to turn attention to editing an atlas of south-west Nova Scotia, covering the area from Halifax and Windsor on one end to Yarmouth on the other.

H. R. Wilson, Chairman.

Summer School of Linguistics, 1959

The second Summer School of Linguistics was held at the University of Alberta from July 6 to August 14, 1959, under the joint sponsorship of the Canadian Linguistic Association and the University. The third program was conducted during the 1960 Summer Session, and an Announcement concerning the curriculum for 1961 will be found elsewhere in the Journal.

Eight full credit courses were offered, covering fundamental areas in linguistics: General Linguistics: Phonetics and Phonemics together with the integrated half-courses Morphology and Syntax, English Phonetics, French Phonetics; Eskimo Language and Culture; Linguistic Geography and Lexicography: Semantics and Translation Theory and Practice: Modern English Grammar; History of the English Language; Teaching English as a Second Language.

The Faculty of the School was composed of W. S. Avis (R.M.C., Kingston), Betty Bandeen (University of Western Ontario), T. C. Correll, J. L. Darbelnet (Bowdoin College), R. J. Gregg (University of British Columbia), W. F. Mackey (Université Laval), S. E. Martin (Yale University), and E. Reinhold and M. H. Scargill of the staff of the University of Alberta.

While the total enrolment of 195 represents only a slight increase over the 1958 figure, a considerably larger number of students registered in 1959 in the more specialized linguistic subjects, such as descriptive linguistics and Eskimo Language and Culture. Of the approximately 100 student registrations 34 were graduate and special students, an increase of nine from the previous year; the majority were senior undergraduates in the Faculties of Education and Arts and Science. The number of students from other parts of Canada and from the United States is increasing, and it is of interest to note that a participant attending lectures under the University's guest provisions for holders of the Ph.D. came from Germany to attend the program.

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Eight students received financial assistance from the Canada Council, the Canadian Linguistic Association, and the American Council of Learned Societies. In addition, the Canada Council provided the University of Alberta with a grant to assist in bringing Professor Martin from Yale University as a visiting Professor to the Summer School of Linguistics. It is most appropriate that thanks be expressed to these organizations, and to the University of Aberta, for their generous support of our project.

The program of the Summer School of Linguistics also included an open University lecture given by Professor Martin before an audience of approximately 400 persons and a colloquium on Linguistic Theory attended by the staff of the Summer School of Linguistics and invited guests.

E. Reinhold, Director.

THE SECOND ROUND IN DIALECTOLOGY OF NORTH AMERICAN ENGLISH

by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., University of Chicago

May I begin by stating an advance disclaimer of any intent on my part to disparage the work of any preceding scholar, North American or otherwise, or to assert that the problems I am examining are in any way peculiar to this continent. If most of my examples are chosen from the English of the Western hemisphere, and particularly from the United States, the choice simply reflects my own inexperience. Reared in another culture, one might have cited analogous examples from Northern Chinese, Russian, Hindi, Indonesian, Burmese, or Arabic. In fact, Kloeke and Leopold respectively — to cite random examples — have commented on the social forces operating to produce present-day Afrikaans and mid-century West German; and the debates over the shape of standard Norwegian and standard Czech are matters of historical record, along with the milder discussions of the nature of standard Canadian English. The principal aims here are fourfold: 1) to take account of recent criticisms directed at traditional dialectology in general, the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada in particular; 2) to examine the changing social environment in which we are working; 3) to review the history, aims and accomplishments of linguistic geography to date; 4) to suggest, once more but perhaps in somewhat greater detail than before, some of the directions which new research may profitably take.

In recent years, criticism of the Linguistic Atlas project has taken the following directions:

1. The selection of communities and informants is said :

- To be too heavily slanted in the direction of rural and small-town culture.
- b) To disregard the geographical and social mobility of the American and Canadian population.
- c) To constitute too small a sample for the conclusions to have statistical validity.

2. The selection of items for the questionnaires is said:

- a) To include too many items.
- b) To omit special occupational vocabularies of local significance.

- To put too much emphasis on rural and small-town culture.
- d) To ignore popular culture.
- Transcription practices are questioned because the Atlas uses impressionistic phonetic rather than "structural" phonemic notations.

Now it is patent that some of these criticisms are mutually contradictory: a questionnaire can't be too long and too short at the same time, unless the critics are arguing from fundamentally different assumptions. Nor can it have both too much and too little emphasis on popular culture. Some other criticisms are manifestly untrue: although the Atlas fieldworkers have not set their data down in a neat 9 x 3 "Tragerization" or "Sweetening" (nor even in the newer 10 x 4 "Sleddification" or — perhaps more accurate historically - "Ravenization"), they have sought consistently for such significant contrasts as cot/caught, horse/ hoarse, Mary/merry/marry, and the like; and the very impressionism of the transcriptions permits the discovery of areas of uncertainty where an interested investigator may search more diligently to determine whether additional phonemic contrasts exist. After all, a Tragerization according to the 1941 6 x 3 version would not have permitted the discovery of the high central unrounded vowel - now orthodoxly Tragerian - which I have in children, dinner, ribbon, scissors, sister. No more does the 1951 "revised standard" version allow for the lower low-front "Confederate vowel" which Sledd and I have in mire (contrasting with mere, mare, mar, nor our fission of the Tragerian postvocalic /-h/ to distinguish hide and hired. Why, then, should we exclude the possibility that some dialects might distinguish between, say, a high-central rounded vowel in bull "taurus" and a high-back rounded one in bull "sermo flatulens"?

A final group of criticisms, however, needs more serious discussion, since the stubborn facts of our society will not down. During the last half-century the proportion of the population of the United States living in urban and suburban environments has risen approximately from 40 to 80 percent. A megalopolitan agglomeration now stretches from north of Boston to south of Richmond, and others are in the making, as e.g., in the Toronto-Hamilton area. These large urban centers are concentrations of assembly-line industry. Goods are mass produced and services increasingly impersonalized, even if performed behind a façade of good manners — all to the elimination of great sections of the folk vocabulary. Education — or something passing under that name — is dispensed on an increasingly larger scale, for longer periods of exposure, to the disruption of normal patterns of folk grammar and folk pronunciation. Television, radio, syndicated

journalism, and the mail-order catalogue now bring the same message to metropolitan apartments and trappers' shacks. And our generation changes residence and jobs most casually; fewer and fewer reach middle life in our native communities, let alone in the houses where we were born. The question is this: are the techniques of linguistic geography, developed for studying agrarian and village societies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, equal to the task of describing the rapidly evolving dialect patterns of our complex industrial economy?

Perhaps a recapitulation of the origins and early history of linguistic geography is here in order. Basically, the first large-scale projects — those of Wenker and Wrede in Germany and of Gilliéron in France — began as ad hoc enterprises, to test particular hypotheses (such as the sharpness of the dialect boundary between High and Low German, or the territorial limits of French and Provencal), and the first questionnaires were test sentences for phonetic transcriptions or lists of Latin etyma, alphabetically ordered. The German enterprise assumed that village schoolmasters could make accurate phonetic transcriptions of "the dialect" (without identifiable informants), and Gilliéron's fieldworker, the redoutable Edmond Edmont, was simply instructed to select a good speaker of the local dialect in each of the 600 village communities he visited. As we have learned more about the complexity of dialect phenomena, our methods have been refined. To take care of social differences and the dimension of time, informants are now usually selected on the basis of age and education and social position, not merely because they are wellknown local characters who are willing to talk. Items are now investigated as parts of a culture complex, and the social structure of each region or community has been taken into account in planning surveys. In short, the position of the modern dialectologist is that 1) no single survey can gather all the kinds of evidence that scholars are likely to wish, and 2) many kinds of evidence must be gathered afresh, at thirty-to-fifty-year intervals (or oftener) to take care of changing conditions. Far from being rigidly committed to the study of archaisms, linguistic geography has shown itself capable of recognizing the implications of advances in other disciplines.

With these historical developments in mind, we can then examine the aims and accomplishments of dialect study in this hemisphere:

First, along with scholars in other parts of the world, we nave expanded and modified the definition of dialect from that which was commonly and cheerfully held during the late nineteenth century. No serious student of North American English would assert, as Wright did in the preface to the English Dialect Dictionary, that he has collected, or could hope to collect, all the

"dialect words" in a language. A dialect is no longer something quaint and curious, but rather a regionally or socially identifiable variety of a language, set off from other varieties by a complex of identifiable features — phonological, grammatical, lexical, and semantic. Because of the North American social situation — which has its counterparts in other nations — we cannot set up a sharp dichotomy between "dialect" and "standard language". The writer considers himself a speaker of something approximating cultivated speech, and can cite family background, education, and occupation in support of this assumption, but no one would confuse his speech with that of a native of Ontario. So we must accept regional variation at the standard level as well as among the folk, and in addition concern ourselves with that vast body of speech between the cultivated and the uneducated, but differing from place to place in its relationships to the two extremes.

Second, the Linguistic Atlas project — like its counterparts elsewhere — is historically oriented, designed to explore the affiliations between varieties of North American English, and between them and the varieties spoken in the British Isles. Since these affiliations can often be most clearly shown by linguistic archaisms, it is natural that relic areas, old-fashioned informants, and — speaking Wordsworth-wise — items from humble and rustic life should bulk larger in the Atlas plans than the statistical composition of our mechanized civilization would suggest to a random sampler. This is a matter of deliberate choice, so that the Atlas may do the job it was intended to do.

In summary, the Linguistic Atlas project is designed to provide a framework within which subsequent studies may be effectively conducted, and to constitute the first stage of continuing serious and systematic studies of North American English. The project has served and continues to serve an extremely important function.

But with the completion of this first stage — now a great deal nearer than we would have thought possible even a decade ago — we must not rest content. Our findings are not to be embalmed and venerated, but examined, questioned, supplemented, revised and corrected. We must not ignore our critics, annoying though they be at times, but use their energy and their dissatisfactions — and the insights they may have from a different point of view — to help us gain more knowledge about the fields of interest we share with them.

Problems of the second stage, as I like to call them, I envisage as of several types, by no means mutually exclusive. The list I offer is, of course, suggestive rather than exhaustive. But the basic text upon which they are all based is this: "there is no substitute for actual data."

1. Assuming the completion of the large-scale surveys, the next highest priority would seem to be the intensive studies of relatively small areas. At the moment — excluding interpretative studies based on the Atlas collections (such as DeCamp's study of San Francisco) we have also 1) Jane Daddow's studies of Chepachet, Rhode Island, and the Hudson Valley, 2) Nate Caffee's study of Charlottesville, Virginia, 3) James McMillan's study of eastern Alabama: 4) Madie Barrett's of southeastern Alabama; 5) Allan Hubbell's of New York City, 6) Arthur Norman's of Orange County, Texas, 7) Janet Sawyer's of San Antonio, Texas, 8) Edward Potter's checklist study of Northwestern Ohio, and 9) Wilson's treatment of that strange dialect of English called "Lunenburg Dutch". Among those in progress or projected are 1) Mina Babington's study of bilingualism in southern Louisiana, 2) Robert Webber's study of the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, 3) Roger Shuy's investigation of the Northern-Midland dialect boundary in Illinois. 4) Gerald Udell's analysis of the effects of industrialization and urbanization on the speech of Summit County (Akron), Ohio, 5) William Carroll's study of Southern Illinois, and 6) Lee Pederson's study of Chicago speech. American and Canadian communities — and the dialect problems they exemplify — are so diverse that we cannot envisage running out of topics. But one might wistfully express the wish that some of the better known relic areas or communities -like Cape Ann in Massachusetts, the Outer Banks of North Carolina, the Ozarks, or the Negro community of Dresden. Ontario - be thoroughly examined before the automobile, television and the mail-order catalogue completely eradicate their isolation. And we need many more studies of foreign-language communities, bilingualism, language substitution, and the relics - overt and subtle - of ancestral languages, whether in a metropolis like Montreal, an entrenched peasant society like the Louisiana Cajans, an old local group like the French of St. Anne, Illinois, or a comparatively new one like the Ukrainians of Western Canada or the speakers of Slavic koiné in the industrial villages of Pennsylvania. From any welldone community study we should derive not only worthwhile information but a broader knowledge of linguistic processes.

Another kind of project, best started on a regional or local basis but capable of indefinite expansion, is the depth study of a particular aspect of the language. Cassidy has shown how the folk vocabulary may profitably be studied in depth, and his pioneer study of Wisconsin speech is on its way through the press, to be followed by other studies in other region — the Newfoundland project being perhaps the best advanced. Similar grammatical studies in depth are projected by the usage committee of the Dialect Society. C. K. Thomas's phonetic studies, especially of the low-back vowels, are also relevant, despite the problems

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of convertibility in notation; the same may be said for Stockwell's recent proposal for a structurally phonemic dialectology, lately exemplified in a study of social differences and phonemic oppositions in metropolitan Paris. One reservation must be made in this connection, however; namely that care be taken that overall patterns are not used to conceal embarrassing divergencies, since as long as a language lives, its structure will be undergoing local deformations which may result in permanent change.

Turning the telescope around, instead of looking for rural relics we might explore the distribution of peculiarly urban vocabulary items, many of them innovations in an urbanized society. Few items of this kind appear in the Atlas questionnaires, but one can think of such urban-derived lexical variants as the following:

- a) kerosene, coal oil, lamp oil, carbon oil, paraffin;
- b) baby carriage, baby cab, baby coach, baby buggy, pram:
- c) sidewalk, pavement, banquette;
- d) rubber band, rubber binder;
- e) parking strip, boulevard, treelawn, parkway, (for what may be described periphrastically as the grass strip between the sidewalk and the curb):
- f) vacant lot, prairie;
- g) political influence, pull, clout;
- h) neighbourhood store, confectionary;
- i) row house, Baltimore flat, town house:
- k) office building, block;
- 1) fire station, fire house, fire hall:
- m) highway underpass, subway;
- n) nightstick, espantoon;
- o) shoulder of a highway, berm;
- p) center strip (of a divided highway), median, berm;
- q) service plaza, service area, oasis;
- r) viewing (Minneapolis "reviewal")—for the ceremonial display of the result of the mortician's cosmetic technology, as a part of funeral services:
- s) or such important and complicated everyday lexical matters as the lexicon of the soda fountain and the terminology of cuts of meat. Items of these kinds should certainly be part of any study of urban dialects.

As a special kind of depth study, furthermore, we need to learn how the suprasegmentals — stress, intonation, transitions

and terminals - vary regionally and socially. We know that such variations exist, partly heuristically, partly thanks to informal debates, such as Joos's insistence that Sledd and I have two primaries with single bar in our pronunciation of nonsense, though we personnally analyze this as primary-secondary with plus. On a larger scale, one can recall several yet unsolved controversies over suprasegmentals. Are there five-pitch and three-pitch as well as four-pitch dialects? are there three-stress as well as fourstress dialects? are double-cross and double-bar merely pitch-conditioned allophones of the same terminal, at least in some dialects? and what are the varying phonetic qualities of these phonemes (if phonemes they be) from one dialect to another? To convert heat into light on these questions we need more data and less rhetoric. And while we are handling the dialectology of suprasegmentals, may we not look forward to the dialectology of paralanguage and kinesics? This could be not only a contribution to pure knowledge but a valuable diagnostic tool for the sociologist and the psychiatrist, just as the familiar evidence of dialectology on pronunciation and grammar enables the teacher to differentiate between the regionally different and the socially inferior.

Finally, we need more delicately articulated studies of social differences and the dynamics of change. Of the wealth of community studies American sociologists have undertaken, none has systematically correlated linguistic differences with social differences; only the Putnam-O'Hern study of the "alley people" in Washington, and Ives's work with the Urban Life Research Institute of New Orleans, can be said to have even explored this possibility. Yet as Julian Pitt-Rivers has suggested, the social differences in language become increasingly significant as the overt pressure toward equality produces greater real inequality. Here the dialectologist, especially one with sound structural training. can collaborate effectively with demographers and sociologists, with highly practical implications for their findings as legislation and court decisions alter the overt status of underprivileged minorities but leave unchanged the characteristics by which prejudice and discrimination are rationalized. And here, of course, the younger generation and recent immigrant stock must be brought into the roster of informants.

As we expand the scope of our investigations, we have already rehabilitated the once despised mail questionnaire, and we will not despise technical innovations — the tape recorder in the field; the reverse playback, the sound spectograph, the speech-stretcher in the laboratory. They will never replace the field-worker or the editor, but they can make field work and editing a lot easier.

Thus our past work will never be obsolete, though our future investigations should never be limited by its precedent.

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And lest we attribute special qualities to our own age, we should remember that all languages are always changing, that no pure dialects have ever existed where communities are in contact, and that the social flux of our own day has its analogues in the bourgeois revolution of the late middle ages. Though one deplores supersalesmanship, it is not inapposite to suggest that our study of the present may aid us not only in determining our future but in understanding our past, and in developing our appreciation of the complex behaviour of man.

LABRADOR, ST. JOHN'S and NEWFOUNDLAND : Some Pronunciations

By William Kirwin, Memorial University

The well-known names of Labrador, St. John's and New-foundland have variant pronunciations among the older speakers of the oldest communities on the Avalon Peninsula in southeast Newfoundland. The following description is based on field interviews made during the summer of 1960. It is important to note that possible trends and changes in pronunciation in the younger and middle generations have not been examined; the informants ranged in age from two in the 40s and 50s up to 94 years. Almost all were associated with the fishery since child-hood.

Except for two speakers who spent years in New England ports, Labrador is not stressed on the first syllable when used in isolation. Twelve speakers pronounced [,læbrə'doə-] and three [,læbrə'doə-], with a rhythm parallel to ,larger 'door. (One of the two exceptions employed the final retroflexion: the other had

¹For purposes of comparison here are phonetic renderings of the pronunciations given in some standard reference works Daniel Jones's An English Pronouncing Dictionary: [nju:fand'lænd, nju:)'faundland; 'læbrada:(r), 'læbra'd-, -aa(r)]; The Concise Oxford Dictionary: Newfoundland or [-fand'lænd]; 'Labrador; Kenyon-Knott's A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English: [njufand'lænd, nu-, 'njufandland, nu-, nu-, 'njufaundlanda, nru-, nu-, ES -da(r); 'læbra dar, ES -da(r)]. Webster's Geographical Dictionary (Merriam-Webster): [njufan(d)'lænd, 'njufan(d) lænd, 'njufandlanda, 'njufandlanda, 'læbra day-]; The American College Dictionary: ['njufand lænd, nu-, nju'faundlanda, nu-, 'læbra day-]; Columbia Lippencott Gazetteer of the World: [njufand'lænd, 'njufandland; 'læbraday-].

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weak retroflexion, or none.) One variant [,læbə'dəə] was heard from two speakers. Very seldom did the old fishermen use Labrador in attributive position, which possibly might cause a shift forward in the word. But "the Labrador coast," "Labrador fish" and [læbrə'dəə, men,—mən] were noted with the usual stress on the third syllable. Incidentally, lexicographers who cull older books dealing with the Labrador may discover what conditions govern the authentic use of the article: in conversation in this area it is usually present, as in "down on the Labrador."

St. John's occurs a bit more frequently in its shortened British form [snºt 'dʒanz]. Nine of the older informants used this form, with the [a] tending to be short and fronted. One of these said [sn]. Five people stressed the first word more fully, [seint 'dʒanz]. Speakers of both English and Irish ancestry employ both types of pronunciations, although five out of the nine using the briefer form fall in the English group. Three other men interviewed were heard to say both forms.

In the versions of Newfoundland, I found a clear preference for one pronunciation, with only minor variations, and a few cases of distinct departures. For example, one very old Anglican housewife offered the only example of [njufan'lænd]. One retired fisherman responded with [nu'faundland], but not in conversation. Members of his family whispered the typical form among themselves, by way of correction. Another, offering a variant to this stranger questioning him, explicity stressed each syllable, with a concluding emphasis on the last: ['nu 'faun 'læn], and still another always used this type casually in ordinary talk. Typically, however, the responses in conversation or to direct questioning differed only in the occurrence of the final [d]. Nine speakers had [nufan'lænd] and seven others [nufan'læn]. The first syllable may have a slight glide, [niu], and the second a lower vowel or syllabic [n]. The [d] is always sounded in [nufən'lændəz, -əz].

The problem of stable or varying stress in place-names is a tricky one in Newfoundland English. Visitors relying on the printed form frequently do not hit upon the local usage. Furthermore dialectal habits of pitch also hex the outsider. Later study of prosodic subtleties may reveal that one frequent pronunciation of Newfoundland has higher pitch on the first syllable and lower on the last. Some mainland pronunciations I have discerned in this vicinity have equated pitch and stress, producing a form ['nufən,lænd], probably contrary to the practice of these older informants.²

² Middle-age and youthful speakers sometimes use forms like [nufə-'lænd] and [nuf:'lænd], especially attributively.

QUELQUES CADRES DU FRANÇAIS MODERNE

(SUITE)

Irène Vachon-Spilka, Université de Montréal

(Résumé de la première partie: L'ensemble phonétique /d(ə)/ est un homomorphe qui se laisse décomposer en un certain nombre d'allomorphes rattachables à des archimorphèmes. Nous en avons isolé trois: {de}¹ < {{UN}}, {de}² < {{DU}} et {de}³ < {{DE}}.)

- 6.1 Les allomorphes { de } 1 et { de } 2 rattachables respectivement aux archimorphèmes { UN } } et { DU } } servent à actualiser les unités lexicales. Comparez beaucoup de pains et beaucoup de pain. L'allomorphe { de } 3 rattachable à l'archimorphème { DE } } est un terme de relation. Il marque un grand nombre de rapports: rapport vectoriel, D'où venez-vous? rapport de provenance, De qui est ce livre? d'appartenance, Le livre de Pierre, de destination, L'amour de la patrie, etc. Malgré ces variations sémantiques, qui ne sont pas une des moindres difficultés du français, il conserve toujours la même valeur grammaticale et se classe parmi les autres morphèmes de subordination à, pour, par, etc.
- 6.2 Examinons maintenant des locutions (au sens général du mot) comprenant deux termes dont le second soit relié au premier par de. L'espèce du premier terme est définie par la marque (nominale, verbale, etc.) qui le précède; le second terme n'ayant pas de marque d'espèce nous sommes obligés de le rattacher provisoirement à la classe à laquelle il appartient habituellement.

lère série: le premier terme est un nom par définition puisqu'il est affecté de la marque nominale; le second terme est tiré de la classe nominale.

le garçon la femme	de / d'	café ménage
l'esprit		clocher
les mots		ordre
un fonds		culture
une espèce		outil
des barres		fer
du lait		vache
de la laine		verre
de l'eau		source

2e série : le premier terme est un nom par définition. le second terme est tiré de la classe verbale.

le désir	de / d'	plaire
la joie		vivre
la nécessité		étudier
l'habitude		fumer
le besoin		écrire

3e série: le premier terme est un nominal, c'est-à-dire un substitut du nom, le second est tiré de la classe adjectivale mais n'oublions pas qu'en français le mot adjectif représente plutôt une réalité historique que logique puisque dans la langue contemporaine tout adjectif peut fonctionner comme un nom: le beau, le rouge, le triste. En l'absence de toute marque d'espèce il est impossible d'attribuer à un mot une classe plutôt qu'une autre.

quelque chose	de / d'	beau agréable
quelqu'un		bien
personne		mort
(un) je ne sais quoi ce qu'il y a	1	charmant bon

4e série: le premier terme est un adjectif parce qu'il est relié au nom par les marques catégorielles du genre et du nombre; le second est tiré de la classe nominale.

(des hommes) bruns (une personne) morte	de / d'	peau fatigue
(un tapis) vert		eau
(la neige) éclatante		blancheur
(du ruban) large		deux doigts
(elle est) canadienne		naissance
(ils sont) fous		joie
(je suis) petite		taille

5e série: le premier terme est un verbe puisqu'il est employé en conjonction avec la marque d'espèce verbale, le pronom de conjugaison, et que, de plus, il est affecté des marques catégorielles verbales, le nombre et la personne: le second terme est tiré de la classe nominale.

je cite il parle	de / d'	mémoire abondance
cela coule		source
nous mourons		faim
avancez		trois pas

Si nous comparons entre eux les exemples contenus dans ces cinq séries, nous constatons qu'ils présentent tous la même organisation interne; un terme principal suivi d'un n.

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est du terme complémentaire. Lorsque nous disons "principal" et "complémentaire" nous nous plaçons au point de vue grammatical et non au point de vue du sens. Il est bien entendu que elle est folle et elle est folle de joie ne veulent pas dire la même chose, mais il n'en dmeure pas moins vrai que elle est folle est un énoncé possible, alors que elle est de joie n'en est pas un. C'est dans ce sens que nous disons que le premier terme est le terme principal.

Or, l'énoncé ou segment d'énoncé à deux termes est un type courant en français. Lorsque le premier terme est un nom, on appelle le second terme adjectif; lorsque le premier est un verbe. le second s'appelle adverbe; enqn, lorsque le premier est un adjectif, le second s'appelle encore adverbe (ce qui, soit dit en passant, dénonce un manque de logique dans la terminologie traditionnelle). En comparant maintenant nos exemples avec des énoncés formés selon le modèle: nom + adjectif, verbe + adverbe, adjectif + adverbe on voit que notre second terme remplit invariablement les fonctions adjectivale et adverbiale.

le garçon		de café brun
l'habitude	-	d'étudier invétérée
(un tapis) vert	1	d'eau foncé
avancez		de trois pas vite

Seule la série 3 ne peut soutenir la comparaison du fait que les nominaux ne supportent pas l'adjectif en apposition. Nous interprétons cette lacune comme une simple case vide qui ne gêne pas le fonctionnement du système. Au contaire. Nous sommes en présence d'un procédé très productif exigé par la structure même de la langue. En effet, le français se prêtant mal à la dérivation, la formation de nouveaux épithètes y est difficile et nécessite le recours à des procédés. L'un d'eux consiste précisément à former des locutions adjectivales ou adverbiales au moyen d'un mot employé sans marque d'espèce et relié au terme qu'il modifie par le morphème de le 4 que nous appellerons morphème hypostatique puisqu'il permet à un mot d'une espèce de remplir la fonction normalement assurée par une autre. L'hypostase, ou substitution d'une catégorie grammaticale à une autre.

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est d'ailleurs habituelle en français ainsi qu'en témoignent les exemples suivants qui sont loin d'épuiser la liste :

un marron : des yeux marron
moi : le moi
beau (adj.) : le beau
bien (adv.) : une femme bien

une personne : personne (pron.)

boire (verbe) : le boire

- 7.1 Au lieu d'avoir une valeur grammaticale, il arrive que de soit commandé uniquement par le déroulement de l'énoncé. Dans l'opposition je veux lutter: je crains de lutter de joue le rôle d'une simple ligature car il ne modie ni le sens ni la fonction des termes en présence. Il sert uniquement à éviter la rencontre de certains verbes avec l'infinitif objet, c'est le mot vide par excellence. Or, justement les fréquentes variations rencontrées dans la langue parlée et même dans la meilleure langue écrite révèlent l'hésitation des usagers à employer un mot si peu motivé. On dit le plus souvent 'feindre de'' mais Mauriac écrit dans La Fin de la Nuit "Elle feignit ne pas comprendre''; "nier de'' mais Paul Morand écrit "Ezra nie avoir pris l'argent"; "souhaiter" se construit indifféremment avec ou sans de; "tâcher" est passé de à de depuis le XVIIe siècle.
- 7.2 Le cadre [↑] de ^{↑5} est capable d'élargissement. Il peut accommoder des locutions verbales impersonnelles:

il est bon de parler c'est bien cela m'ennuie

et même des propositions entières :

vous êtes fou | de | partir
nous avons mieux à | faire que | de | rester

Notons un phénomène assez curieux. Bien que ce de soit essentiellement une ligature, il arrive qu'on le conserve même en cas d'inversion :

(De) parler le fatique.

8. – Que faut-il penser des expressions comme "à moins de/que", "au lieu de/que", "de crainte de/que", etc.? Abandonnant aux historiens le soin d'expliquer leur formation, nous sommes forcés, au point de vue synchronique, de les considérer

¹ Exemples cités par M. Grevisse, Le Bon Usage, Paris, Geuthner, 6e édition, 1955, p. 600.

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comme des expressions figées indécomposables au même titre que "debout", "deçà", "dedans", "dehors", "delà" qui ne sont pas sentis comme des composés mais comme des unités simples. Il y a pourtant une nuance. Dans ces derniers, le préfixe, soudé au radical par l'orthographe, est immuable. Au contraire, dans les locutions qui nous intéressent le suffixe varie selon que la locution est suivie d'un nom ou d'un verbe à l'infinitif ou bien d'un verbe conjugué:

de crainte d'une surprise d'être surpris que vous ne soyez surpris

Selon la grammaire traditionnelle, de telles locutions sont prépositives lorsqu'elles se terminent par de et conjonctives lorsqu'elles se terminent par que. Or, la préposition marque un rapport de subordination alors que la conjonction marque un rapport de coordination. J'avoue pour ma part ne pas sentir la différence entre les rapports exprimés dans:

partez de crainte d'être surpris partez de crainte que vous ne soyez surpris

Il semble plus simple et plus logique de dire que ces locutions de liaisons sont des unités lexicales à suffixe variable, de/que. Ajoutons que ce de est un morphème lié puisque "afin", "au lieu", "de crainte" etc. ne s'emploie jamais sans lui ou sans son allomorphe.

9. – Le rôle lexical de de n'est pas confiné dans les locutions. On sait que le vocabulaire apparent du français est restreint, c'est-à-dire que le nombre de mots autonomes y est beaucoup moins considérable qu'en anglais par exemple. Pourtant les Français arrivent à dire tout ce qu'ils veulent. Ils ont pour cela recours à des procédés.

Nous avons vu comment on supplée au manque d'adjectifs et d'adverbes en construisant des locutions épithètes (§6). Nous savons aussi qu'on augmente le nombre des noms du lexique en faisant varier le genre; par exemple "la pendule : le pendule", "le critique : la critique" etc. De même on allonge la liste des verbes en faisant alterner le morphème de liaison :

jouer à : jouer de
penser à : penser de
décider à : décider de
manquer à : manquer de
accablé par : accablé de
chargé par : chargé de
c'est à moi à : c'est à moi de

10. – Le mot de est d'un usage si fréquent qu'il n'est pas étonnant de le voir devenir une mauvaise habitude! Bonne ou mauvaise, l'habitude est prise d'en faire un usage stylistique. Si l'on a pas vu un ami depuis un an, on dit volontiers qu'on ne l'a pas vu de toute l'année; si une chose mesure environ onze mètres on pourra dire qu'elle a de dix à douze mètres; enfin l'enfant que sa mère appelle répond souvent (nous espérons qu'il se corrigera) en lançant "De quoi?" Sans aller jusqu'à cette incorrection la langue familière fait grand usage d'expressions comme:

drôle d'homme chien de métier panier percé de gendre espèce d'idiot

et va parfois jusqu'à accumuler les de comme dans cet accès d'enthousiasme: "Je te dis qu'il en avait de belles, de longues, de soyeuses d'oreilles, mon chien!" Ce morphème, de l, 8 n'entre pas dans les cadres grammaticaux. C'est un morphème stylistique car il sert à produire un effet affectif. En effet, un drôle d'homme signifie simplement un homme bizarre, mais alors que cette dernière expression est d'une coloration affective neutre, la première produit un effet affectif: elle révèle l'étonnement de celui qui parle, et elle communique à celui qui écoute une certaine impression de surprise en raison du renversement de l'ordre habituel des mots (nom – adjectif).

Dans (votre) panier percé de gendre, c'est la rencontre de deux termes désignant normalement des objets de nature différente (chose, personne) qui étonne et produit un effet comique en assimilant la personne à la chose. Dans la description du chien citée plus haut l'effet provient d'une accumulation insolite d'adjectifs qui nous maintient dans un état d'incertitude sur la nature de l'objet affecté de toutes ces qualités. Quel que soit l'effet désiré, de offre au locuteur et à l'écrivain une ligature d'emploi commode et facile.

11. – Nous avons décomposé le mot de en huit morphèmes homonymes. C'est peu si l'on songe qu'une bonne grammaire moyenne présente des douzaines de "cas" dans lesquels l'emploi de de est justifié, sans toutefois être suffisamment expliqué. La classification que nous avons adoptée à d'abord le mérite de la simplicité, et surtout celui de respecter les traits typologiques du français. Nous avons montré com-

² Exemple rapporté par J.-P. Vinay, Université de Montréal.

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ire iels ent ord les ment la loi de l'élision phonétique, qui transcende les espèces et les catégories grammaticales, trouve son application dans l'élision du a de de; comment l'alternance l/u d'origine historique joue pour un morphème lié: de + le < du aussi bien que pour un radical: soldat/soudard, cheval/chevaux, aval/à vau (l'eau); nous avons contribué à diminuer l'entropie engendrée par la confusion de formes identiques dans le morphème partitif et la marque nominale; nous avons tenu compte, dans le cas de la préposition, du jeu de l'haplologie qui affecte plusieurs autres séries de morphèmes en français; enfin nous avons mis en relief certaines ressources particulières au français telles que la création de locutions épithètes et la différenciation des unités lexicales, sans omettre l'aspect stylistique qui peut modifier un terme de la langue commune.

LEVELS ANALYSIS: J. R. FIRTH'S THEORIES OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

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Summary

This paper should be considered a sequel to the paper read at the meetings of the Canadian Linguistic Association at Kingston in June 1960 and to be published in the Proceedings of the Learned Societies of Canada; in the first paper, the linguistic theories of J. R. Firth¹ (and which are summarised in section 1.0, 1.1, and 1.11 of this paper) were outlined, and in this article the procedures at the different levels (Firth himself has used the term "spectrum analysis"²) of the analysis of a text are described and copiously illustrated from the works of Firth and his associates. These methods have been developed by Professor Firth and his colleagues in London on the lines of the linguistic theory promulgated by Professor Firth and adumbrated in the original paper. This article concludes with a detailed bibliography of the writings of Firth and his colleagues; reference is also made to the work of other scholars who have discussed Firth's linguistic theories.

Outline

- **0.0** Introduction. **1.0** Context of Situation. **2.0** Levels Analysis. **3.0** Conclusion.
- **0.0** It is not yet fifty years since Ferdinand de Saussure's Cours de Linguistique Générale was first published and little over fifty years since de Saussure began to teach in the University of Geneva; in that short period, the science of linguistics has made tremendous progress and is recognised in many centres of learning as an independent discipline which occupies a very central position

¹J. R. Firth was the first holder of the Chair of General Linguistics tenable at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London until he retired in 1956; he is now Professor Emeritus.

² J. R. Firth, Atlantic Linguistics, Papers, p. 170-1. The following abbreviations are used in this paper Papers – J. R. Firth, Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951, (London, 1957); BLA – Studies in Linguistic Analysis, (Oxford, 1957); TPS – Transactions of the Philological Society; BSOAS – Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

vis-à-vis other academic disciplines.³ It would seem appropriate to review the progress of modern structural linguistics since the days of de Saussure, though it is no part of this paper to do so, and this must be reserved for another occasion; paradoxically enough, this paper will describe the linguistic theories and methods of a scholar who has consistently denied any allegiance to the theories of de Saussure.⁴

In the period since de Saussure began to teach, it is possible to discern two fundamental trends in linguistic theories, and these can be stated with an alarming simplicity, i.e. certain theories have developed from de Saussure, and there are others which have not. The former theories, which are and have been practised in Geneva, Copenhagen, the so-called Prague Circle, and which have produced famous scholars such as Bally and Frei in Geneva, Hjelmslev in Copenhagen, Meillet in Paris, Gardiner in England, Trubetzkoy, Jakobson and de Groot of the Prague Circle, will admit allegiance to some extent or other to de Saussure, whereas others, e.g. London and most American linguists, explicity deny any such dependence.

Many epithets have been used to describe the various linguistic theories practised in the 20th century, e.g. mentalistic, behaviouristic, traditional, God's truth, and hocus-pocus — and it is no part of the writer's purpose to add to such epithets — but it is possible to say that those theories which derive from de Saussure manifest some dichotomy, some dualism, e.g. signifiant and signifié, form and substance, expression and content, form and content, etc.. whereas the London and American schools have insisted much more on a purely formal approach in phonological and grammatical description and have produced what might be called a syntagmatic — paradigmatic theory of linguistic analysis. §

0.1 At the meetings of the International Congress of Linguists at Oslo in 1957, one of the subjects discussed under the leadership of Professor K. L. Pike was the Interpenetration of

³ Professor A. W. de Groot once likened the central position of Linguistics in the curriculum of the modern university to that of Philosophy in the mediaeval university.

⁴J. R. Firth, Personality and Language in Society, Papers, p. 180-1.

⁵ J. R. Firth, Applications of General Linguistics, TPS (1957), 2-4.

⁶These are generalisations but the author has used them deliberately to indicate certain directions in linguistic theory: it is after all a well-known fact that Bloomfield and his followers rigorously excluded "meaning" from their analyses, and Firth is equally severe on dichotomies in linguistic theory, cf. J. R. Firth, General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar, Papers, p. 227.

Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax⁷: in his introductory report, Pike outlined three theories of linguistic analysis — none of which are connected with any form of Saussureanism, i.e. one which he named "compartmentalisation" and which is practised by scholars such as Bloch, Harris, Hockett, Trager, etc. in America: a second which he labelled "abstraction" and which is practised by Professor J. R. Firth and his colleagues of the London School of Oriental and African Studies: and a third which he called "integration" and which is practised by Pike himself and his followers. The purpose of this paper is to outline the analytical methods of Firth's theory of linguistic description.

0.11 These three theories all postulate the need for levels of analysis. The first theory accepts that these levels, distinct from each other⁸ occur in ascending levels of complexity, beginning with phonology and progressing via morphology to syntax. Pike described the thrust of this theory⁹ as providing an attack of great simplicity and mathematical rigorousness by means of an exhaustive separation of levels which occur in a rigid hierarchy; data from a higher level may not be used in the analysis at a lower level and vice versa. The resulting analysis is stated in distributional terms, ¹⁰ the smallest basic units being treated in reference to more and more complex distributional relations.

0.12 Pike's own theory begins with the postulate that the data are structured and the task of the linguist is to discover this structure. Levels of analysis exist but there must be mixing of levels with mutual dependence of one level on another. This will mean that the phoneme will not be treated as the smallest unit leading to the morpheme at a higher level but that the phoneme and morpheme are considerated the smallest units in two respective hierarchies. To these, a third element is to be added; Pike first called this a grameme¹¹ but has since changed it to a tagmeme, ¹²

⁷K. L. Pike, Interpenetration of Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax, Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists (1958), pp. 363-87.

 $^{^8}$ C. F. Hockett, A System of Descriptive Phonology, $Language\ 18$ (1942), p. 21.

⁹ K. L. Pike, Op. cit., p. 365.

¹⁰ Cf. the criticism of the theory of distribution in linguistic analysis: Paul Diderichsen, The Importance of Distribution versus Other Criteria in Linguistic Analysis, Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists (1958), pp. 156-82.

¹¹ K. L. Pike, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour, Glendale, 1954-5. Chap. 7.

K. L. Pike, Grammemic Theory in Reference to Restricted Problems of Morpheme Classes, IJAL 23 (1957) pp. 119-28.

¹² K. L. Pike, On Tagmemes, Née Graniemes, IJAL 24 (1958), 273-78.

which he describes as "a correlation between a functional slot in a larger structure plus the class of morphemes or morpheme sequences which can fill that slot". ¹³ These three levels inter-relate and inter-penetrate, so that the language is viewed as a whole and several levels of structure can be worked on at the same time.

- Firth's theory views language as a whole¹⁴ which is to be described by a hierarchy of techniques: 15 there is implicit in this the need for a series of levels but at the same time the theory refuses to arrogate to any level a hierarchical importance. The strength of such an approach is that any unit, i.e. phonological, grammatical, word, syllable, or sentence may be set up as the starting point, so that the problem can be dealt with from several angles; the analysis will thus be made by an agglomeration of techniques, i.e. a polysystemic analysis, 16 which, as Professor Bazell points out, 17 is beginning to gain ground on the monosystemic type of analysis. This means in effect that an attack can be made on the data from any level and at any point without a necessary prior phonological analysis having to be made; furthermore, the analyst begins with the piece, the unit next below the paragraph, 18 but which is higher than the word, and proceeds from the larger to the smaller unit, 19 so that the analyst can bring all the phonological and grammatical factors into play from the beginning and bring them into focus on the text to be analysed which has been placed in its Context of Situation which will be the means by which renewal of connection can be made with experience.
- 1.0 The strongest single influence on Firth was that of Malinowski²⁰ (though Firth frequently acknowledges the influence of other scholars such as Sweet, Gardiner, and Daniel Jones, who left two ideas in particular which can be said to be the keystones of Firth's theory. Firstly, Malinowski, in describ-

¹³ K. L. Pike, Interprenetration of Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax, p. 369.

¹⁴ Firth used the term "monistic".

¹⁵ F. R. Palmer, Linguistic Hierarchy, Lingua VII (1958), p. 225.

¹⁶ F. R. Palmer, Comparative Statement and Ethiopian Semitic, TPS (1958) p. 122: 'The vast complexity of language requires a polysystemic approach. Different phonological statements may be required, for instance, for the verbal and nominal forms of a language, or even for the stems and endings of morphologically related words."

¹⁷ C. E. Bazell, Linguistic Typology, (London, 1958), p. 4.

¹⁸ M. A. K. Halliday, The Language of the Chinese "Secret History of the Mongols". (Oxford, 1959), pp. 42-3.

¹⁹ R. H. Robins, Formal Divisions in Sundanese, TPS (1953), pp. 111-12.

²⁰ The bibliography at the end of this paper includes the works of Malinowski relevant to Firth's linguistic theories.

ing the languages of the South Sea Islanders, took the sentence as the basic unit and worked downwards, the word being a secondary abstraction²¹: secondly, Malinowski used the term "Context of Situation" to describe a part of the social process in which a speech event is considered central, ²² or as Firth described it "a sort of behaviour matrix in which language had meaning". ³³

- 1.01 Firth adopted the first of Malinowski's ideas²⁴ and incorporated it as a fundamental factor in deciding the order of the analysis of a text: he refined and changed the concept of Context of Situation,²⁵ so that it became an assurance that a text is attested as common usage and ha the focus of attention is on this and not on the occasional or idiosyncratic. Thus the Context of Situation becomes a social construct and the basis of a hierarchy of techniques²⁶ for the analysis of the text.
- 1.011 Firth admits that no linguist ever set up exhaustive systems of contexts of situation.²⁷ but suggests that certain interior relations should first be set up, followed by more general frameworks; such relations can be set out in tabular form as follows²⁸:

I. Interior Relations:

- A. Relevant features of participants :
 - 1) Verbal action of participants,
 - 2) non-verbal action of participants.
- B. Relevant objects.
- C. Effect of verbal action.

II. Exterior Relations:

- Economic, religious, social structures to which participants belong.
- B. Types of discourse monologue, narrative.
- C. Personal interchanges age, sex of participants.
- D. Types of speech social flattery, cursing.

Firth also suggests that statements of Contexts of Situation

²¹ R. H. Robins, op. cit., p. 110.

²² J. R. Firth, Personality and Language in Society, Papers, p. 182.

²³ J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, pp. 7-8.

²⁴ J. R. Firth, Ethnographic Analysis and Language, p. 113. R. H. Robins, op. ctr., p. 110. M. A. K. Halliday, Systematic Description and Comparison in Grammatical Analysis, SLA, p. 58.

²⁵ J. R. Firth, Personality and Language in Society, Papers, p. 182.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 183.

²⁷ J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, p. 9.

²⁸ J. R. Firth, Personality and Language in Society, Papers, p. 182.

J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, pp. 9-10.

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could be made in tabular form under headings which have a clear relation to the techniques of analysis²⁰ thus:

- i type of context of situation.
- ii type of speech function.
- iii language text and language mechanism.
- iv restricted language to which text belongs.
- v syntactic characteristics of text (colligation).
- vi other linguistic features of text and mechanism.
- vii features of collocation.
- viii creative effect or effective result.
 - ix extended collocations.
 - x memorial allusions.

The advantages of this are obvious, and furthermore it will thus be possible to segregate the notional language used in describing the non-linguistic aspects of the context of situation from the technical language of the purely formal description of the various linguistic levels of analysis.

- 1.012 The theory of Context of Situation applied to the examination of the use of tense and aspect in the French verbal system would yield interesting results: a more detailed instance in a particular situation illustrates³⁰ the difference between uses of the past definite and the past indefinite tenses. The text is the film La Femme du Boulanger based on the short story of the same title by Jean Giono: the context of situation is, the young village priest encounters the village schoolmaster; the following conversation or monologue ensued, in which the priest angrily accuses the teacher of deliberately distorting certain "facts":
- Le Curé (furieusement): Monsieur l'instituteur, voulez-vous vous expliquer ?
- L'Instituteur (haussant les épaules): De quoi s'agit-il?
- Le Curé (toujours en colère et plus furieusement que jamais): Vous avez dit à vos élèves que Jeanne d'Arc crut entendre la voix de Dieu au lieu de dire qu'elle l'entendit.
- 1.013 An excellent example of the application of the theory of Context of Situation is to be found in T. F. Mitchell's article on The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica, 31 in which

²⁹ Ibid, p. 10.

³⁰ I am not attempting to give an exhaustive statement of the Context of Situation but merely certain indications of its application.

³¹ T. F. Mitchell, The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica: a Situational Statement, Hespéris (Archives berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, 1957), 31-71.

he shows that before formal linguistic analysis of the text begins, certain statements must be made, of great relevance to the text, which aim at classifying the material "on the basis of correlation between texts and their environments", 32 and which enable the analyst to see the text as a whole.

- 1.014 We can say, therefore, that the Context of Situation is the means of isolating the text; it also serves to establish a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical and other linguistic categories, and these categories must be stated before the analysis of the linguistic categories can begin. In a word, the Context of Situation is the means of assuring the renewal of connection between the text, which is in itself an abstraction, and observable events in experience.
- 1.1 When the Context of Situation has been established, the text is subjected to analysis by means of a mutually congruent series of levels, sometimes in descending order³³ beginning with the context of situation, proceeding through collocation, syntax, to phonology and phonetics, and sometimes in the opposite order.³⁴ It must be remembered that the descriptive statements made about these levels refer to the language of the text under description and are valid for that text only. Professor Allen points out that "the... method of extending the relevance of the statement beyond the single idiolect is adoptable only when... the primary source is found to be typical of the speech-community... as a whole". ³⁵

Firth has defined his treatment of the material to be analysed thus: the text is isolated, and the procedure is then to disperse the "meaning" of the text into modes or levels like the dispersion of light into a spectrum. The text is established in its Context of Situation so that the social and personal factors can be stated, followed by statements of meaning at the various levels, which are the syntagmatic relations between elements of structure and the paradigmatic relations of terms which commute within systems which have been set up to give values to the elements of structure; syntax states the word process in the sentence; phonology, the phonematic and prosodic processes within the word and

³² T. F. Mitchell, The Language of Buying and Selling, p. 32.

³³ Cf. 2.01 et seq

³⁴ J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, p. 8.

³⁵ W. S. Allen, Aspiration in the Harauti Nominal, SLA, p. 68.

^{36 &}quot;Meaning" is here used as a technical term.

³⁷ Cf. 1.112.

³⁸ Cf. 1.112.

³⁹ Cf. 1.111.

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sentence, and the phonetician links all this with the processes and features of utterance. 40

- Once the non-linguistic aspects of description are completed, the "spectrum analysis" can be carried out by means of a technical language consisting of terms which are not to be found in other technical vocabularies or which are used quite differently from their use in other linguistic theories. Firth is sparing of his jargon; he has himself pointed out that language is not very apt when it comes to talk about itself, 41 and yet grammar is by definition language about language, 42 i.e. language is turned back on itself. 48 Hjelmsley, in his Glossematic theory, has tried to produce a technical language, often referred to as a linguistic calculus or algebra, his object being to emancipate linguistics from the handicap of everyday idiom, and other schools of linguistic theory too44 have produced their own elaborate technical vocabularies; it is, however, no part of this article to judge the merits of these different terminologies. Firth and his colleagues make use of a small number of key technical terms which have to be understood from the first if the technical descriptions of which they are the language are to be appreciated: these terms are not very numerous and have been taken from every-day language but are used with very specific objects in mind.
- 1.111 Phonic material is the raw material for phonetics⁴⁶; certain phonic data are alloted to phonematic and prosodic⁴⁶ categories which are distributed in units, terms, classes, structures, and systems. Phonematic units are not phonemes but refer to those features of the phonic material "which are best regarded as referable to minimal segments having serial order in relation to each other in structures' phonematic units are for the most part the consonant and vowel elements or the C and V units of a phonological structure. One great difference between phonemic analysis and phonological analysis of the type advocated by Firth is the prosody which is more than one segment in scope; "we may

⁴⁰ J. R. Firth, Modes of Meaning, Papers, p. 192.

⁴¹ J. R. Firth, The Semantics of Linguistic Science, Papers, p. 140.

⁴² R. H. Robins, Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory in Europe, London, 1951, p. 2.

⁴³ J. R. Firth, Modes of Meaning, Papers, p. 190.

⁴⁴ E. P. Hamp, A Glossary of American Technical Linguistic Usage. (Utrecht, 1957).

⁴⁵ W. S. Allen, Retroflexion in Sanskrit: Prosodic Technique and its Relevance to Comparative Statement, BSOAS 16 (1954), p. 558, fn. 2.

⁴⁶ J. R. Firth, Sounds and Prosodies, Papers, pp. 121-38.

⁴⁷ R. H. Robins, Aspects of Prosodic Analysis, *Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society* 1 (1957), p. 3.

abstract those features which mark word or syllable initials and word or syllable finals or word junctions from the word, piece or sentence, and regard them syntagmatically as prosodies, distinct from the phonematic constituents which are referred to as units of the consonant and vowel systems". A phonological structure is thus a syntagmatic entity comprising phonematic units of C and V and one or more prosodies belonging to the structure as a whole. Of the structure as a whole.

1.112 There are two terms of much wider use than "prosody" and "phonematic" and which can be applied at the grammatical and phonological levels: these are structure and system. 50 The interior relations of a text are i) syntagmatic relations (which might almost be thought of as "horizontal") and ii) paradigmatic relations (which might be thought of as "vertical"). A structure is a syntagmatic entity made up of elements, so that CVCVC or Noun-Verb-Noun can be considered structures made up of C and V elements or N and V elements. Within such structures, elements can be replaced by or substituted51 for other elements at the same level of abstraction; systems of units or terms commute51 to give values for the elements of structure, so that in a structure of CVCVCV, we may find that the first V has different values from the other V elements, which can result in a possible CV5-CV7-CV2 structure.52 The first principle of phonological and grammatical analysis is to distinguish between structure and system,53 and therefore the consonant and vowel units of a language comprise systems at the phonological level and word-

⁴⁸ J. R. Firth, op. cit., pp. 122-3.

⁴⁹ R. H. Robins, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵⁰ R. H. Robins, Formal Divisions in Sundanese, TPS (1953), p. 109.

⁵¹ R. H. Robins, The Phonology of Nasalised Verbal Forms in Sundanese, BSOAS 15 (1953), p. 140. Substitution here is not the same as substitution used in North American linguistic writings, cf. Z. S. Harris, Methods in Structural Linguistics, p. 31.

⁵² J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, p. 5.

⁵³ Statements in terms of systems enable the analyst to dispense with a separate morphological analysis as is required in traditional descriptions; the paradigmatic consideration of morphology has thus value when considered as part of the system which must be considered in terms of its commutation. Such an analytical procedure requires the analyst to state some of the formal "scatter" of the element at this level of analysis in terms of the structure to which it belongs: cf. J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, p. 4: Firth insists – Ibid. p. 20, – that the "paradigmatic hyphenated lists of orthographic forms of individual words can and generally do obscure the analysis of the elements of structure in the syntagmatic inter-relations of grammatical categories." Cf. also M. A. K. Halliday, The Language of the Chinese "Secret History of the Mongols", p. 7.

classes comprise systems at the grammatical level.⁵⁴ At the grammatical level we have two types of commutation in a system, i.e. systemic commutation and colligational commutation; there will be commutation within the colligation⁵⁵ which is an abstraction at the grammatical level, and there will be commutation within its system of the element of the structure, so that in an NVN structure, the system of the V will consist of the systemic commutations of tense, mood, aspect, voice, etc., and the colligational commutation of person, negation, interrogation, etc.

Thus, we find that the vowels of French comprise a sixteen term system :



There is commutation of front, central and back quality, and of open, half-open, half-closed, closed; there are three classes of vowels — the front vowels, i, e, " ϵ , ϵ , a," are articulated with spread lips: the front vowels, "y, ϵ , ϵ , ϵ , ϵ , and the back vowels, "u, ϵ , ϵ , ϵ , ϵ , a, ϵ , are articulated with rounded lips. From these classes of vowels, we can abstract the prosodies of ϵ (front quality with lip spreading), ϵ (front quality with lip rounding), ϵ (front quality with lip rounding), and ϵ (labiality) and ϵ 0 (absence of labiality). The vowel ϵ 0 is central, half-closed, without lip-rounding or lip spreading and will vary in quality according to the nature of its consonantal environment.

1.113 Firth introduced the theory of exponents⁵⁶ to link the phonic data with categories of phonology and grammar: this is central to linguistic analysis at congruent levels, and Firth, furthermore, suggests that graphic exponents can be considered as parallel to those exponents which refer to phonetic and phonological 'shape'. ⁵⁷ At the phonological level, this means that certain phonic data are selected (and phonetically described) as characterising the various phonological units, of which they are termed "exponents" and to which they may be said to be allotted: these exponents may be cumulative or discontinuous or both. ⁵⁸

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 $^{^{54}\,\}mathrm{R.~H.}$ Robins, The Phonology of the Nasalised Verbai Forms in Sundanese, p. 140.

⁵⁵ Cf. 2.2.

⁵⁶ Firth's theory of exponency is treated in much greater detail in my paper mentioned in the summary at the head of this paper.

⁵⁷ J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 15.

Article-nominal colligations in French are of different patterns, e.g. :

1.	le père	[lə peR]
2.	la mère	[la meR]
3.	les livres	[le livR]
4.	l'homme	[lom]
5.	les hommes	[lez om]
6.	du maître	[dy metR]
7.	de thé	[də te]
8.	d'encre	[dãkR]
9.	des tasses	[de tas]
10.	des oranges	[dez oRã3]
11.	un livre	[ce livr]
12.	un homme	[ce nom]
13.	une femme	[yn fam]
14.	une amie.	[ynami]

The phonetic features relevant to the junction of article and nominal can be summarised thus⁵⁰:

- (a) consonantal beginning (voiced lateral or dental) followed by
 - (1) front open, front half-closed, front closed vowel, or
 - (2) central half-open vowel.
- (b) vocalic beginning (front closed oral or front half-open nasal vowel) followed by:

 dental nasal consonant.

The vowel of (a) and the consonant of (b) are in turn followed by any consonant which may or may not be of dentialveolar articulation (i.e. any consonant) or any vowel which may be oral or nasal. The structures of these colligations will be CV-C, CV-V, VC-C, VC-V; the systems for the phonematic

elements of the article structure are :

C = a system of 3 terms — "1, d, n" (the exponent of n in a VC structure will be nasal dental or nil).

V = a system of 5 terms -- "e, a, y, @, a" (the exponent of a in a CV structure is half-closed central or nil). 60

1.12 This paper is mainly concerned with a summary description of the techniques which are the means of making state-

 $^{^{59}}$ T. F. Mitchell, Long Consonants in Phonology and Phonetics, SLA, p. 183.

⁶⁰ Cf. F. R. Palmer, The Verb in Bilin, BSOAS 19 (1957), p. 140.

ments of meanings; the concept of Context of Situation, which, as Firth himself says, 61 is the basis for the hierarchy of techniques, has already been discussed, 62 and the remainder of the paper will therefore be devoted to the levels of analysis which are the means of making a spectrum analysis for the statement of the meanings of the language under description. In discussing linguistic theory, whenever levels of analysis are mentioned, the question of hierarchy inevitably arises63; mention of this is made at this stage, since the order of discussing the various levels of analysis, i.e., phonology, grammar, collocation, etc. must not be taken to imply any hierarchy or logical progression, nor should it be taken to imply that all levels of analysis have been considered or exhaustively described. There is some doubt, for instance, about the status of phonetics as a level of analysis and it has not been included in this article; Firth has suggested a tabulation64 of the statements of contexts of situation, which might be considered levels of analysis, but few of them have been discussed here, although they do in themselves suggest certain very interesting lines of application of linguistic science. 65

(To be continued)

⁶¹ J. R. Firth, Personality and Language in Society, Papers, p. 183.

⁶² Cf. 1.01, 1.011, 1.012, and 1.013.

⁶³ Cf. 2.0 et seq.

⁶⁴ Cf. 1.011.

⁶⁵ J. R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, SLA, p. 10.

LINGUISTICS AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SCHOOLS

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It is unfortunate that in the field of English studies the science of linguistics has been largely neglected in many Canadian universities. The reasons for this neglect are varied. But the results are always the same: students lamentably ignorant of the most elementary facts about the English language. I have heard an English honors graduate from one of our universities describe Chaucer as "the best of Old English authors." I have met teachers of English in our schools who complained that, in spite of all their courses, they did not feel equipped to teach English grammar and composition and "hated' the school "language periods."

It is equally unfortunate that some enthusiasts claim that linguistics is all that the English teacher really needs to know: that "English by symbols" will solve all problems in the classroom. For this is not true; and such claims do as much harm as neglect of linguistics.

What, if anything, can the study of linguistics do for the teachers of English in our schools?

There are many areas in the field of linguistics, such as: historical, the study of the history of a language; comparative, the study of the relationship between languages; phonetics and phonemics, the study of speech sounds and their distribution; morphology, the study of the meaningful units of words: syntax, the study of the structures into which words combine. But no matter what the area studied, even an elementary training in modern linguistics will reward the student with a most important gift: a realistic attitude towards language; an understanding that English, for example, is a living and changing entity that can be used in as many ways and for as many reasons as there are users of it. Once the student has acquired this elementary, but basic, knowledge, his whole concept of language teaching changes. He is able to explain with confidence the reasons for preferring and teaching one form of the language to another. He is able to accept the fact that literary English and colloquial English are not the same thing and that there are several levels of written English and several levels of colloquial English, all serving different and useful purposes. When he becomes a teacher, he will be able to win the confidence of his pupils by a proper explanation of the

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reasons for teaching in the classroom a very different kind of English from that heard and read outside. And he will avoid the glaring error of trying to convince his class that "the book and the teacher are right and everybody else, including his pupils" parents, is wrong."

Even a brief history of the English language, such as that provided by Baugh's History of the English Language, will help the teacher or intending teacher to the understanding of another important fact. The English language is in a state of change as is any living thing. Many sincere attempts to prevent change have failed and will continue to fail. But the teacher need not feel any fear that this change will be "decay." The English language has never "decayed" yet; and so long as enough people are interested in using it effectively, there is no likelihood that it ever will "decay."

I do not understand how an intelligent presentation of the poetic manipulation of rhyme and rhythm can be given without some knowledge of another area of linguistics: phonetics. Unless the teacher is familiar with all the sounds of English and with their use, he cannot possibly teach English verse effectively and is liable to fall into grave errors such as that recently made by a famous literary scholar who analyses one of Shakespeare's plays in terms of its sounds and describes obvious diphthongs as "vowels" to prove his arguments. It is such scholars who continue to perpetuate the fallacy that English verse can be analysed into "long" and "short" syllables and mutilate all kinds of finely conceived rhythms by trying to break them into fancied spondees, dactyls, and iambs.

How can Shakespeare's use of English be properly explained unless the teacher is aware of the great controversy about English that raged during Shakespeare's day and in which the poet himself took part?

And in the whole area of stylistics, the teaching of semantics plays little part except for some historical and non-semantic observations on the fact that Chaucer's verray, for example, does not mean "very." This at a time when we are being exploited as never before in the world's history by the most unscrupulous use of words.

Many teachers of English grammar, perhaps the majority, have long felt that the employment of the traditional methods of instruction is not justified by the results. Year after year, students in our schools are taught the same old things. In every other school subject a new year means new knowledge. But in English grammar the student goes from grade to grade still trying to master the elements of the sentence. In Grade IX, he is puzzling about the relative clause. In Grade XII, he is still puzzling. No wonder teachers and pupils get bored.

Personally, I feel that the best way to learn to speak and write is to hear good English and read good English all day long. But this takes time and a certain environment. And for the vast majority today neither the time nor the environment is available. Good books have gone out of fashion. Pupils in our schools are fobbed off with all kinds of poor reading. The television set night and day, often purveys the most abominable spoken English to the nation. At a time like this, the workings of the English language must be given to our children in a simple and intelligible form.

In this emergency, and it is an emergency, I think that structural grammar of the type explained by C. C. Fries in his Structure of English and applied in such books as Paul Roberts Patterns of English or, at a much higher level, in Nelson Francis' Structure of American English, can be of great value. In grammar of this nature, we have something that children can enjoy and understand and master rapidly. I know of one class of Grade X students who, after a year of Patterns of English, asked if they might be allowed to buy and keep their school copies. I know of teachers who say that grammar has become exciting when taught by structural methods.

At the same time, I cannot urge structural grammar as the solution to all English language problems in the classroom. It has little to say about certain vagaries of the language that must be mastered and that can best be explained on historical, regional, or social grounds. But, properly used, it does provide a better description of English grammar than we have ever had before. Improperly used, it can be dangerous. The teacher of structural grammar must master his subject before he begins to use it. This is not hard. The three books that I have named will provide a good grounding, although a course under a competent instructor is better and easier.

What we, as teachers of English, are asked to do is not in itself difficult. But the tools with which we are often forced to do the job make it a chore and a problem. With the aid of modern linguistics, our task could be made much simpler and much more satisfactory. I urge every teacher or intending teacher of English to bombard those responsible for teacher training with requests for courses in linguistics designed for the teacher of English. I do not think that they will be unsympathetic.

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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS CRITIQUES

Present-Day English Syntax: A Survey of Sentence Patterns, by G. SCHEURWEGHS. Toronto, Longmans, 1959, Pp. xx. 434.

Ce livre donne de nombreux exemples de syntaxe anglaise moderne classés méthodiquement et constituant bien un "survey of the sentence patterns of present-day English". Comme tel, il mérite l'intérêt qui s'attache à toute collection d'exemples soigneusement établis. C'est un point de départ, mieux même, un instrument de travail. La question est de savoir si le fait de recueillir des exemples et de les étiqueter est une entreprise suffisante, même dans les limites étroites qu'on s'est assignées.

Puisqu'une critique honnête se doit de comprendre les intentions de l'auteur et de tenir compte avant tout de ce qu'il a voulu faire, il paraît indiqué de faire état de ces intentions, telles qu'elles s'expriment dans la préface ou se dégagent de l'ensemble. 1) L'auteur a voulu combler une lacune en étudiant des "patterns" de la langue écrite, voire littéraire, moderne; ses exemples sont postérieurs à 1945. 2) En même temps il s'est limité à l'anglais d'Angleterre: est laissé de côté tout ce qui se dit - ou s'écrit en Ecosse, en Irlande, dans les anciens dominions et aux Etats-3) Il justifie son recours à la terminologie traditionnelle en alléguant que l'accord n'est pas encore fait sur celle qui est appelée à la remplacer. 4) Les faits de langue sont identifiés surtout en fonction de la forme; cependant on constate que le sens intervient aussi. 5) La syntaxe de l'anglais d'aujourd'hui nous est présentée objectivement et sans être comparée avec celle d'une autre langue. On pourrait donc supposer que le livre s'adresse aussi bien à des Anglais qu'à des étrangers. Il est d'ailleurs écrit en anglais. Cependant il s'y glisse une intention didactique précise, puisque l'auteur espère que son ouvrage permettra aux étudiants d'écrire un anglais plus "musclé" qu'il ne leur a été possible de le faire pendant leurs premières années d'études. Il s'agit évidemment d'étudiants étrangers, vraisemblablement francophones, puisque M. Scheurweghs est professeur à l'université de Louvain. L'ouvrage prend donc place dans une suite fort honorable d'études consacrées à l'anglais par des grammairiens étrangers. On pense à Jespersen, Kruisinga, et plus récemment à Zandvoort, au manuel duquel l'auteur renvoie dans sa préface lorsqu'il s'excuse de ne pas avoir analysé les subtiles nuances qui séparent parfois les tours qu'il rapproche. Cette remarque surprend un peu, car on s'attendait justement à ce que ces nuances fussent traitées.

L'examen du livre apporte d'autres surprises. Tout en n'étant pas structuraliste: M. Scheurweghs s'appuie surtout sur la forme pour classer ses exemples. Seulement, il ne considère que la forme écrite. Ce choix paraît justifié à première vue, puisque la langue parlée ne doit pas retenir son attention. On peut toutefois se demander si la façon dont la langue écrite s'articule quand on la parle, ne relève pas de son sujet. Peu d'incidences phonétiques dans son livre, encore que la transcription phonétique y soit employée pour marquer les variétés de prononciation des articles. Mais on s'étonne que certains aspects de l'accentuation soient laissés de côté là où justement ils permettraient de mieux éclairer certaines différences, par exemple celles qui séparent le gérondif du participe présent. Dans retiring age, nous dit-on p. 176, la forme en -ing est un gérondif, tandis que dans a retiring magistrate c'est un participe présent. Mais le comportement de ces deux formes est-il le même sur le plan prosodique? L'auteur n'en parle pas.

On a également le sentiment d'une explication incomplète lorsqu'il nous rappelle que will, auxiliaire modal, peut à l'occasion reprendre son sens originel de vouloir ou de bien vouloir. Les deux exemples qu'il nous donne (p. 383) commencent par if. On s'attendrait à ce qu'il ajoute qu'après if, would ne peut exprimer que le bon vouloir. Ce serait justement conforme à ce soucis de "pragmatic reference to form" dont il se prévaut dans ses pages liminaires. (Le if dubitatif est un cas à part.)

L'analyse de la forme, à l'exclusion du sens, aurait pu se révéler plus efficace à propos de la place de l'adverbe. On nous explique (p. 37) qu'il se met souvent avant le verbe simple et, dans le même paragraphe, on ajoute qu'il peut précéder le deuxième élément du groupe verbal ou encore suivre le premier. Plus simplement, on aurait pu dire qu'en anglais l'adverbe se place: a) avant le verbe simple; b) à l'intérieur du groupe verbal; c) presque jamais entre le verbe et son complément direct, sauf quand ce complément est très long. Ce dernier point a son importance pour les étudiants francophones auxquels le livre s'adresse, du moins en partie.

Toujours dans le domaine de la structure, il est permis de se demander si le rapport entre that et much est correctement analysé. On nous signale (p. 133) que much modifie that dans une phrase telle que "You know even that much". N'est-ce pas plutôt that qui modifie much? Car enfin je puis dire "It is not that important", "He is not that mean", et dans ce cadre syntaxique (ou "pattern") c'est much et non pas that qui fait l'objet des substitutions. D'autre part, puisque cette étude s'intéresse aux signifiés et non pas seulement aux signifiants, on ne voit pas pourquoi les différences de sens entre this et that, dont certaines sont difficiles à saisir pour les étrangers, n'ont pas donné lieu à un recensement au moins partiel, effectué au moyen d'exemples judicieusement rapprochés.

On peut également regretter l'absence d'un autre recensement ut le, encore qu'il osit amorcé (p. 55), celui des adjectifs employés comme adverbes, par exemple dans la phrase His eyes were tight shut all the time. Notre curiosité est éveillée sur ce point, mais non satisfaite. Pourquoi ne pas avoir examiné plusieurs cas d'espèce? He did it good est vulgaire, mais go easy, dans la langue familière tout au moins, n'est pas choquant, et d'ailleurs go easily n'aurait pas le même sens. De plus nous soupçonnons que la langue écrite autorise certains adjectifs à fonctionner comme adverbes. Lesquels? Cette question n'est pas envisagée.

L'emploi de l'article défini est une pierre d'achoppement pour les étrangers, et on comprend que M. Scheurweghs lui consacre une dizaine de pages. Mais il aurait simplifié sa tâche, me semblet-il, en mettant à part les locutions idiomatiques, et en utilisant la distinction entre "actuel" et "virtuel" qui n'eût pas été déplacée dans un ouvrage dont les termes techniques ne sont pas proscrits et constituent même un glossaire placé à la fin du volume. L'auteur la côtoie, cette distinction, lorsqu'il fait observer (p. 97) qu'il faut l'article quand "the actual things are indicated". Je la propose d'ailleurs comme cadre et non comme critère infaillible, car on sait que le virtuel peut, comme en français, s'accompagner de l'article. C'est ainsi que to go to sea et to go on the stage sont des expressions analogues où cependant l'article constitue une différence de structure. Mais ce sont aussi des "composés", si on veut bien donner à ce terme une acception plus large que ce n'est ordinairement le cas. Il semble préférable de laisser de côté tout ce qui est locutionnel, que l'article y figure ou non, puisque de telles expressions ne sont pas libres et doivent être apprises séparément au même titre qu'un mot nouveau. Il est curieux de noter que l'auteur partage cette manière de voir, même s'il ne l'applique pas systématiquement. Il fait en effet une distinction capitale, et qui pourrait servir de point de départ à une définition de l'idiotisme, entre les "constructions or collocations which may be freely imitated and serve as models for new formations" et les "idiomatic expressions or stereotyped locutions that cannot be imitated and have to be learned one by one as the vocabulary of the language has to be learned" (p. V). A ce propos on peut regretter que l'auteur considère comme synonymes set phrases et syntactic groups (p. 102). On a intérêt à garder le terme "groupe syntaxique" (suivant en cela l'exemple de Ch. Bally) pour toute construction qui relève de la syntaxe générale et n'est pas un idiotisme particulier. Ainsi to go on the stage serait un groupe syntaxique quand il veut vraiment dire "monter sur la scène" et un composé - ou. si l'on préfère, une expression toute faite - quand il équivaut à "faire du théâtre".

Autre distinction négligée, celle des niveaux de langue, qui se manifestent cependant même à l'intérieur de la langue écrite et dont l'importance didactique est considérable. Je pense en parti-

culier aux exemples de will qui figurent p. 385. En l'espace de deux paragraphes nous voyons défiler "They will sit gossiping over their beer". "He was conveyed whither he willed", et "He willed his property to his wife". Sans doute les différences de sens entre ces trois will sont-elles dûment notées, mais non leur valeur stylistique. Comment l'étudiant francophone saura-t-il que le deuxième exemple appartient à la langue littéraire et archaïsante, alors que le premier peut être familier et que le troisième est presque technique? N'oublions pas qu'un des objectifs du livre est de lui apprendre à écrire.

Ces quelques exemples ont pour but de montrer que si l'idée qui préside à la composition de cet ouvrage est parfaitement valable, elle exige, pour prendre toute sa valeur, un classement rigoureux des éléments, classement qui peut d'ailleurs tenir compte de la forme aussi bien que du sens. D'autre part, il est douteux que l'abondance et l'identification suffisent. Les exemples sont là pour prouver quelque chose, quelque chose qu'il faut dire. Or, le commentaire reste le plus souvent succinct et timide.

A quelqu'un qui est bien placé pour connaître les difficultés d'un étranger aux prises avec la syntaxe de l'anglais, il semble que ce livre soit l'un de ceux auxquels on réserve un accueil enthousiaste quand ils paraissent, mais qui se révèlent un peu décevants à l'usage. La matière est là, cependant, abondante, authentique, et qui gagnerait à être traitée avec un sens plus aigu des réalités prosodiques et stylistiques de la langue écrite. L'auteur, apparemment, a préféré se tenir en dehors de ces domaines, tout en s'y aventurant quelquefois. On dirait qu'il compte sur autrui pour interpréter, statistiquement ou qualitativement, les résultats de son enquête. Cela ne veut pas dire que son livre, bien documenté, ne puisse pas rendre de grands services.

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Toponymy of the Island of Newfoundland Checklist No. 1. Sources: I Maps. By E. R. SEARY. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, 1959. Pp. 69. Mimeographed.

Canadian toponymy or the study of the place names of Canada is one of the weakest spots in Canadian scholarship. The Canadian Board on Geographical Names in Ottawa has been concerned with place names since 1897 and has done considerable publishing regarding the unification of names. The most recent venture of the Board. Gazetteer of Canada, appearing in separate

instalments after World War II, is a practical guide. A number of unofficial publications also appeared, the most significant of them being *The Origin and Meaning of Place Names in Canada* by G. H. Armstrong (Toronto, 1930).

Since 1951 a series Onomastica UVAN was started by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg and 20 issues have been published up to 1960. As no. 16 of this series the paper of E. R. Seary under the title The French Element in Newfoundland Place Names was published (Winnipeg 1958); it was a marginal problem in Seary's great undertaking to record and investigate the whole toponymy of Newfoundland.

The volume under review presents an extensive survey of the maps concerning the toponymy of Newfoundland. Only items having a toponymic value have been listed. The material is presented in chronological order with conjectural dates in square brackets. The name following the date is generally that of the cartographer, known or conjectured. When a cartographer is an author of more than one map in the same year, (A) (B) (C) etc. follow his name to distinguish the maps concerned. Each item is commented upon with regard to its value and details of interest. The year 1959 is the closing date of listings.

As the author states (p. 69) his check list does not include a number of contemporary charts and maps, such as those issued by the Canadian Hydrographic Service or the United States Hydrographic Office.

Seary's compilation has an immense value for the historical investigation of the development of Newfoundland's toponymy. It is a useful list of sources which can form not only the basis for the scientific work on place names of Newfoundland, but also can serve as a good example to all the other provinces of Canada.

The University of Newfoundland is to be congratulated for publishing Seary's work. When all the parts planned are completed the study will certainly contribute to Canadian toponymic research.

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ABBREVIATIONS, abréviations: E: English, anglais; F: French, français; H: Spanish, espagnol; SL: Slavic languages, langues slaves; L: Linguistics, linguistique; Ph: Phonetics, phonétique; AM: Amerindian languages, langues amérindiennes; ROM: Romance languages, langues romanes; TR: Translation, traduction; LEX: Lexicography, lexicographie; AN: Anthropology, anthropologie; D: German, allemand; Cl: Classics, classique; ES: Eskimo, Esquimau.

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